

THE LIBERATOR
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WARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WENDELL
PHILLIPS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.
VOL. XXX. NO. 24.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the St. Louis Bulletin.
GARRISON'S LAST.
The late anniversary week in New York has furnished Mr. Wm. Lloyd Garrison and his confederates with a fresh opportunity of indulging in their accustomed luxury of cursing and swearing at the Constitution and the Union. Their execrations on this occasion were rather more piquant and undiluted than usual. Garrison was in fine feather, and raved and howled with a ferocious vehemence, redoubting his oft-repeated blasphemies with added vigour of feeling and expression. His speech comes to us reported in full in the Boston Liberator, and is a fine specimen of his social and political development and progress. In his magnanimity he has some pardon to bestow upon the framers of the Constitution, and the ancient devotees to the Union, because they lived in days of ignorance. The sun of Black Republicanism had not then flooded creation with its splendours. It had not then been discovered, as a law of political ethics, that solemn compromises made on a basis of equal justice, and from which during nearly a century the whole country had derived its main prosperity, were long and as permanent with the devil. On the contrary, Mr. Garrison thinks that not only the Constitution, but the star-spangled banner, is to be 'abhorred.' He gnashes his teeth furiously at this symbol of our national glory, tells us that it is 'clothed with blood,' and gives us the remarkable and interesting information that it has been 'turned down,' a fact which will be new to most readers, who will be apt to imagine that the experiment of tearing it down would task the collective intrepidity of the whole tribe of Yankee Abolitionists. He tells us that it is in the power of the North to emancipate the slave in the South in a single hour, and that with-
out the shedding of a single drop of blood, though he does not enlighten us as to the particular method by which this singular social phenomenon could be effected. We have no space nor disposition to analyze Mr. Garrison's loud plea for treason, but it is certainly remarkable as a logical development of the famous Rochester speech of Senator Seward. As such it will take its place in the Abolition literature and act of the times, as an expression of Northern fanaticism and hatred to the South, which is one of the crusades against Southern rights might not think altogether polite perhaps, but which does not vary much from what they think and hope.

THE ANNUAL HOWL.

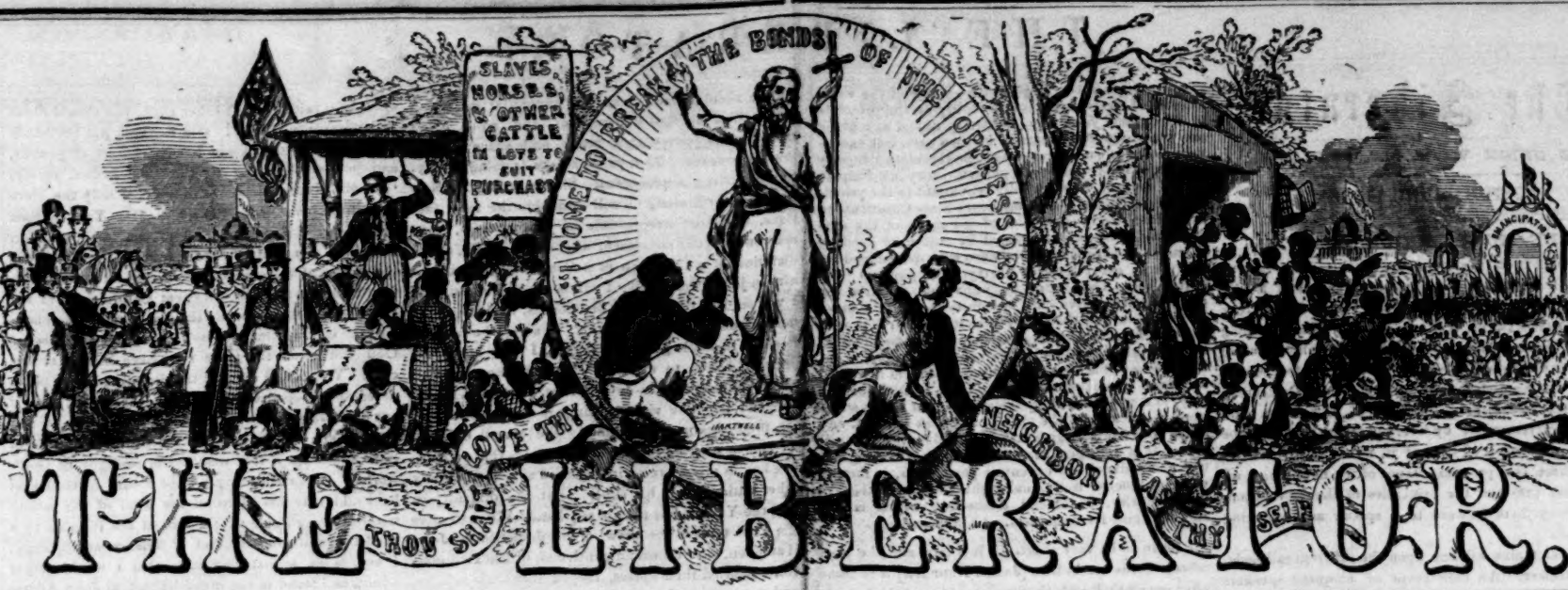
—Hell is loose,
And all the devils are here!—Tempest.
Yes, readers, they are all here, and the 'howling' began—in the regular way—on Tuesday. We refer, of course, to the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the main objects of which seem to be, to come together once a year, to dilly dally, to unashamedly let the Church, to excommunicate the Union, and to denounce the Constitution as a league with death and a covenant with the wicked one. These fanatics do not choose Gotham as their place of rendezvous because of any peculiar affinity of the sentiments of our people with their own; on the contrary, it is well understood that the opinions of the great mass of this community are adverse to the shrieking fanaticism of such men as Parker, Garrison, and Phillips; but New York is selected for the yearly howl mainly for the purpose of getting gratuitous advertisements in the widely-circulated metropolitan journals, and of having the movements of the howlers thus kept prominently before the people. We have hitherto been wont to look upon these fanatical people with some degree of allowance, considering that in the ravings of their leading spirits, they were only blowing off a superfluity of long pent up malignity, and that their wild rhetoric was but the precursor of the year's docility which was to follow. But at this time the doings of this Convention of 'out-and-outs' ought not to be underestimated, intimately connected as it is in sentiment, not in action, with the sectional party which is now to meet in conference at Chicago. Under guise of religion, these 'shriekers for freedom' are endeavoring, as usual, to push along the car of radical Abolitionism. It cannot be pushed much further, certainly, without touching, and getting Republicanism to harmonize with it. Indeed, we can have no better proof of the Abolition tendencies of the Republican party than will probably be afforded by the action of these anniversary folk. We may expect from them the highest laudation of Lovejoy in Congress, and Old Brown in Virginia, with the customary maladictions upon the South, and upon everything and everybody that does not come to the spirit and letter of their infatuation.—N. Y. Express.

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From the Fayetteville (N. C.) Presbyterian.
DANIEL WORTH.
The conduct of this deluded fanatic, since his return to the North, fully establishes the truth of the charges on which he was arraigned before the Courts of North Carolina, and the justice of the treatment which he received for violating the laws. His guilt was most clearly proved at his trial. Under guise of ground existed for a reasonable doubt, it had been removed by his acts and acknowledgments since his departure. He came here as an Abolition emissary, and the society under whose auspices he was sent selected him for the mission on account of his supposed fitness for the work. Great leniency was manifested towards him during the trial, and the heaviest part of the penalty which he had incurred was remitted in consideration of his age and the holy calling which he had assumed, and which he so shamefully dishonored. The punishment prescribed for the offence is imprisonment for not less than twelve months, and it is left to the discretion of the Judge to sentence the culprit to the pillory and the whipping-post. Worth was convicted after an impartial trial before a jury, a large majority of whom were non-slaveholders, and after an able defence by two of the first lawyers in the State. The Judge magnanimously remitted the most ignominious and severe part of the punishment, and the reverend incendiary was sentenced merely to imprisonment. From this sentence he was released on bail, and was required bond was given by two slaveholders. A third slaveholder conducted him in safety from the State, and in all possible haste he fled to his friends, allies at the North. The first Sabbath after his arrival in New York, he is exhibited in Cheever's pulpit as a hero and a martyr, and on the next night (Monday of last week) the citizens of New York, white and black, old and young, men and women, assembled at the City Assembly Rooms to hear the statement of Rev. D. Worth, of North Carolina.

'TOO MUCH NIGGER.'

The Newburyport Herald, a Republican paper, says, feelingly—
There are 18,000,000 people in the free States, who have interests of their own to look after; they have commerce and fisheries, agriculture and man-



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 15, 1860.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1538.

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Political Anti-Slavery Convention.
[Presuming that our readers would like to know something of what was said and done at the Political Anti-Slavery Convention held at Boston on the 29th ult., in response to a call issued by Stephen S. Foster, Rev. John Pierpont, J. H. Stephenson and others, we have condensed the following from the reports in the Boston papers. The reader will know how to make allowance for the prejudices as well as the haste of the reporters.]
At 10 o'clock, A. M., Tuesday, May 20th, some fifty persons assembled in Mercantile Hall, pursuant to a call for a new political organization against slavery. J. H. Stephenson called the meeting to order, and read the call [for which see Liberator of May 25th]. On his motion, the following officers were chosen:—
President—Rev. John Pierpont; Secretaries—Philemon Stacey, J. H. Fowler; Business Committee—S. S. Foster, J. Redpath, N. G. Allen, C. W. Eldridge, R. J. Hinton.
On taking the chair, Mr. Pierpont declared that he had always advocated political action in reference to slavery, as well as all other reforms. He quoted lines of his own, composed twenty years ago, to illustrate his views. He urged eloquently on the men of New England action at the polls. The South asks to be let alone. That is just what the devil asked of Jesus of Nazareth. He proposed to initiate measures that should not let slavery alone.
Mr. J. P. Blanchard, of Boston, announced himself as a Republican voter, for he was willing to get all he could from them, but he could see that the Republicans fall far short of the work to be done, and he was willing to co-operate with this meeting.
A letter was then read from Mr. James Redpath, declaring that he had no faith in conventions, but only in the sword and insurrection. He had attended but one anti-slavery convention since last December, and then he saw not the platform for the scaffold of John Brown. He said he was pledged to the work of inciting an armed insurrection among the slaves of the South, and therefore could have nothing to do with peaceful agitation. There is no help for slavery in hair-splitting New England, but only in the rail-splitting North-west. He closed by declaring that he should vote for Lincoln and Hamlin, believing that their success would benefit the slave.
Mr. S. S. Foster declared himself astounded that such a man as Redpath should declare his willingness to vote for a man like Lincoln, who declared his willingness to be a slave-driver general. There is not a particle of difference between the Republicans and Democrats.
[Here a large number of persons denied Mr. Foster's positions, and he read the fourth resolution of the Chicago Platform, declaring that each State has the exclusive right to manage its own domestic institutions.]
Mr. Foster continued, and endeavored to show that the Republican party has always sustained slavery inviolate in the States where it exists. He said the object of this organization is to put the spirit of Garrisonianism into the forms of law, and have an uncompromising political party. He declared the United States Constitution to be entirely anti-slavery, and that if its provisions were carried out, slavery would cease in an hour. [A gentleman asked Mr. Foster to favor the audience with the new light he had received on the Constitution, Mr. Foster having always declared the Constitution to be pro-slavery.]
Mr. H. C. Wright rose and declared that he would not discuss slavery as a moral question. He would put his heel on all Constitutions, Bibles, parties and religions that recognize the right of property in man.
Mr. R. J. Hinton spoke in behalf of Mr. Redpath and his views, and declared that the people of New England cannot appreciate the position of such men as Redpath. In New England, men think and deliberate, but the West reduces to practice. He defended the masses of Republicans as being soundly anti-slavery, but only such men as Mr. Redpath are ready to reduce anti-slavery principles to practice.
Mr. Wright resumed by asking whether the Constitution sanctions slavery. It is purely a political question, and a fair one. The South have constituted in their favor. If parties, Congress, Legislature and Courts can be relied on, it sanctions slavery. Mr. W. did not see how any man could escape the position of the slaveholder. Their position is impregnable, and slavery is constitutional.
Mr. Pierpont spoke in behalf of the anti-slavery view of the Constitution, and briefly but clearly defended the Constitution as an anti-slavery document. He made a very logical and thorough speech, and con-

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cluded that, conceding that the parties framing the Constitution intended to recognize slavery—conceding that the concession was grammatically made, even then the parties could not band themselves and successors to sustain slavery, for it is morally wrong, and therefore could not be constitutional. He said the time had come for the North to rise up and insist that the Constitution should be literally carried out.
Mr. Pierpont said, till to-day he had resolved to vote for Lincoln and Hamlin, but he had to-day received the Tribune, which contained an extract from Mr. Lincoln, and he said it with inexpressible sorrow, that he (Lincoln) is not in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. He could not vote for a man who held to that view. He could not be counted as a Republican, if such was the position of his candidate for the Presidency.
Mr. Roberts, of Stockton, Me., was glad to see that Mr. Foster had abandoned his old heresy, and he hoped he would be consistent, and simply endeavor to bring the majority up to the right ground, and place the government under anti-slavery influences. He recommended the meeting to vote the Republican ticket.
Here quite a struggle took place for the floor, and it was awarded to a stranger, who replied to the legal argument of Mr. Pierpont in a very able and thorough manner.
At 2 o'clock the meeting adjourned.

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This society held its anniversary by two public meetings at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday, May 29th. The speakers were Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, New York; Rev. A. W. Ide, Congregational Church, Stafford, Conn.; Rev. John Duncan, Baptist Church, Boston; Rev. Daniel Worth, North Carolina; Rev. R. Dunn, Free Will Baptist Church, Boston; Rev. J. S. Green, Sandwich Islands; Rev. Dr. Cheever, New York. The Secretary, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, of Connecticut, submitted the following resolutions at the morning meeting, which were adopted:—
1. Resolved, That when the politicians of the most advanced political school or party in our country are so fully asserting that the only solution which the question of African slavery admits of, among us, is the 'confessedly cruel and unchristian process of driving them out'—it is time for the friends of God and man, who are opposed on grounds of eternal justice, to any solution of this question, that is cruel and unchristian, to make themselves heard against such a policy; and so much the more, because it is gravely argued, that, although the philanthropy and mercy of sensitive hearts may wait out their protests against its sin and its miseries, yet the fast-footed system of American slavery so laughs to scorn all the notions of humanity, and so threatens, if slavery be touched, to pull down the pillars of the political communities associated together, under a common government, that it will not do to entertain the question of the immediate emancipation of the servile race, where they are found.
2. Resolved, Further, that when it is seriously maintained 'that the separation of the white and black races is all-important as a means of promoting national harmony and progress;' and when the idea of 'negro equality,' and of a common participation, by the black man, in the protection and privileges of a free government, is ignored or scouted by political speculators and journalists, as belonging only to dreamers and enthusiasts,—it is time for men of principle and men of prayer, who believe that God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and that the rights of man, as man, are sacred and inalienable, without distinction of blood or race,—it is time for such Christian men, of all sects and denominations, to protest unitedly against these infidel views, in the name of our common Christianity, as being a practical denial of the fatherhood of God, and the common brotherhood of man.
3. Resolved, That it is for the Church Anti-Slavery Society, in the name of Christ, and as acting in behalf of the great company of fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, everywhere to erect a break water against the infidel views, in regard to 'negroes, and the descendants of negroes,' which are becoming alarmingly prevalent in Church and State.
4. Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting, there is grave reason to fear that the decisions of our judiciary, respecting 'negroes and the descendants of negroes,' which have contravened, not only the first principles of Natural Justice, but the very cardinal notions of Christianity itself, and the recent laws in the United States Senate, at the protest and plea of a Christian conscience against usurpation, (a plea, by reason of which we are a Republic, to-day, because, in the language of Senator Hale, 'men were found in the olden times who set up their consciences against the law of the existing governments,') there is grave reason to fear that these, and other alarming strides of despotism, will bring Christianity and the government into conflict, and, if not arrested, will ultimately array Christian churches, and Christian ministers, against the unchristian laws and policy of the land.
5. Resolved, That we therefore deem it to be a legitimate work of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, to rouse, and give expression to the Christian conscience of the nation against slavery, and against whatever legislative or judicial acts or decisions are contrary to God's law and to natural justice, and by so doing, to MAKE THE CHRISTIAN ELEMENT OF THE COUNTRY MORE POTENTIAL IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, AND TO FURNISH, IF POSSIBLE, THE REALM OF POLITICS WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION.
At the evening meeting, the Secretary offered a series of resolutions, respecting the imprisonment of Thaddeus Hyatt, in Washington jail. He also read a very eloquent letter from the prisoner. The following are the resolutions:—
Whereas, at the moment we are assembled to discuss, with unfettered freedom, all the aspects of our great national sin, and its relations to our government, there lies incarcerated in the Washington jail, at the order of the United States Senate, an eminent and worthy citizen of the United States, for the alleged crime of refusing to acknowledge the right of a Senatorial Committee to compel him to testify, at his bidding, in the interest of slavery; therefore we, in behalf of many Christian freemen insulted in his person, would take this occasion to proffer him our warm sympathy, and our grateful acknowledgments for the integrity and firmness with which he has resisted the most dangerous usurpation of the Senate at the behest of Slavery.
Resolved, That while we are justly indignant at the betrayal of liberty in this case by honorable Senators from the North, who took an unworthy and unlooked-for part in procuring the incarceration of our honest fellow-citizen, we have no language left to stigmatize the baseness of others who would turn away the public odium from the authors and abettors of this outrage, by slurring at the position of Mr. Hyatt as that of a mock philanthropist, envious of the glory of martyrdom. Incapable of believing that in the evil days of venality and corruption on which we have fallen, any one can be found to stand and suffer for a principle, they are forced to seek a motive for a disinterested act of courage and patriotism in the realm of selfishness and vanity.
Resolved, That we congratulate the friends of freedom that there is found among us a Hampden, who not only refuses to pay ship-money to Charles, but freely offers his own money from the prison-house of tyranny, for the best loyal and popular essay upon the very question for the assertion of which he is in bonds. And we trust that the motto of the noble Hampden, Nulla Vestigia Retrorum, will be maintained to the last by our suffering brother, with the uncompromising resolution to linger, and, if need be, die in prison, sooner than to purge himself of the alleged crime of contempt of the United States Senate, by purging himself before God, in declaring that he believes the self-constituted Court of the Senate to have the constitutional right and authority to compel him to make answer to their interrogations.

HYATT MASS MEETING.

A crowded and most enthusiastic assembly gathered in the Melodeon on Thursday evening, May 31st. R. J. Hinton, of Kansas, called the meeting to order, and it was organized by the choice of J. H. Stephenson, Esq., as President, and R. J. Hinton, as Secretary. The case of Thaddeus Hyatt, in jail at Washington, was the subject before the meeting. Samuel

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NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.'
The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEARED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a century, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for looking at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.
—WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

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Rev. Dr. Cheever, of New York, said the Senate in getting hold of Hyatt had caught a Tartar, and the people have found a hero. Dr. Cheever read a spirited, high-toned letter received from Mr. Hyatt, who said he supposed he was to fight slavery in Kansas, but no! 'twas in the prison, and as he 'understood the lions there, he could stir them up.'
Give us a Judiciary who have a sense of right; a heart and conscience in the people to take the Constitution, and apply it legally as it can be done, and slavery will be abolished.
The Constitution can be used as a free instrument, and would that the gifted orator (Phillips) would use his magic eloquence in showing that slavery could claim no protection under the Constitution! The Court is free, if put in the hands of freedom lovers. Hyatt's argument should be made public, and he has now the leisure to do it. A principle is being urged upon us that people are to obey wicked laws enacted by Congress; Chief Justice Hale proclaimed the supremacy of God's law in the conscience, and perhaps this idea may get into the heart of the African Board in this, their year of Jubilee—Jubilee to pay old debts! Let them make it a real Jubilee by declaring that no slaveholder shall become or remain a member of any church under their charge. This would be a Jubilee.
Because Hyatt talked of a conscience, 'twas contempt! We all have a heartfelt conscientious contempt of the Senate, but where is the law to punish? A jury trial is guaranteed to all by the Constitution, but, in this Hyatt case, every right given us by our laws is violated. The Constitution gives the Senate no power such as has been exercised; and if the Senate can assume it, as it has, what is the use of a Constitution? Where is the article giving any power to the Senate to use compulsory processes in testimony from witnesses forced before a mouning, miserable committee? 'I would be a blessing if our government could be tied up for fifty years, and prevented from enacting any law save one for abolishing slavery. It is a sad omen that this Hyatt case is received so quietly by the American public; I endorse the remark made by an eminent divine, who has spoken in this city this week, who, when going into his prayer-meeting after hearing of the incarceration of Hyatt, said, 'Brethren, I am so mad I can't pray.' This is a madness that God will not disapprove of; it is a 'holy indignation'! People are bound to take Hyatt out of prison—I do say how; let Providence point the way. If the Senate can use Lynch law, why wonder that other mobs do likewise?
Dr. Cheever's address was most enthusiastically applauded.
James Redpath was next called for, but declined being made a human sandwich between Cheever and Phillips.
Wendell Phillips was received with tremendous applause, so long continued that the orator said the audience had made the speech for him. Referring to Dr. Cheever, he asked what he could say when John Knox had spoken. He could not gainsay him; let him thunder in God's name against every evil. He went on in his own impassioned style, receiving great applause. While giving Dr. Cheever the compliment of being the noblest clergyman in the United States, and according him the highest praise as a fearless champion of liberty, yet, he could not agree with him on the constitutional question. Linking Hyatt with the glittering list of the safeguards of liberty, he analyzed the whole Hyatt subject in a masterly style, though in his own radical way. He offered two resolutions, bearing upon the subject before the meeting, which were adopted.
The meeting broke up at the late hour of 10 1/2.

THE PLOT AGAINST MR. SUMNER.
The following circumstantial account of the several efforts made by suspicious persons to obtain a private interview with Senator Sumner on Friday night, is given by the correspondent of the New York Post:

About 6 o'clock P.M. Friday, a gentleman called upon Mr. Sumner, who was alone, and was cordially received by him. He opened his conversation by saying that he was one of that class who had been slandered by his late speech; that he was a Southern man and a slaveholder, and that he had called to hear him explain his speech, and to hold him responsible for it. Mr. Sumner replied that he had no views to present other than those contained in his speech, to which he referred him, and informed him that he wished to have no further conversation with him, at the same time pointing him to the door. The gentleman insisted upon talking, and Mr. Sumner ordered him to leave. Finally, Mr. Sumner rose and crossed the room to ring the bell, for the purpose of bringing a servant to show the gentleman out. The gentleman then arose from his seat and stood in front of Mr. Sumner, with his right hand behind him, saying that he was a public man, and as such he had a right to call upon him; and announced that he was one of four who had come from Virginia, for the express purpose of holding him responsible for the sentiments contained in his speech, and that they would call upon him again, and demand a private interview. He then left, with the remark that he had repeatedly been ordered out, and by —, he had not obeyed the summons.

After this stranger left, Mr. Sumner sent for his friend Wilson to consult with him as to the best course to be pursued in the matter. While Messrs. Sumner and Wilson were in conversation, another gentleman called and inquired of the servant if Mr. Sumner was in his room. On being answered in the affirmative, he inquired if he was alone. The answer was in the negative, when he sent word to Mr. Sumner that he had called to see him, but not finding him alone, he would call again. Mr. Wilson, hearing this message, immediately repaired to the door, and met the gentleman, and urged him to go up to Mr. Sumner's room. He declined, as he wished to see him alone. Mr. Wilson could not induce him to see Mr. Sumner.

About nine o'clock, three gentlemen called and made the same inquiry, and receiving the same answer, that Mr. Sumner was not alone, sent word by the servant woman that Mr. Henry and two friends had called, but not finding him alone, would call again in the morning, for the purpose of a private interview, and if they could not have such an interview, they would cut it off — throat before the next night.

Early Saturday morning, a number of Mr. Sumner's friends were at his room, when Mr. Wattles, a friend of Mr. Sumner, called, and at the same time a gentleman by the name of Darien. Both names being announced together, it was supposed that this Darien was a friend whom Mr. Wattles had brought with him; both were admitted at the same time. Mr. Wattles proceeded to shake hands with all in the room, after which the stranger, still standing in the door, announced that he wished to see Mr. Sumner, who replied, 'I am Mr. Sumner.' The stranger said, 'My name is Darien, and I wish to see you privately.' Mr. Sumner replied: 'You can see me here, and now. I do not know you.' The stranger refused to enter, and proceeded to knock out. Messrs. Burlingame and Potter—not knowing that he was one of the party to the threatened assassination, and thinking Mr. Sumner might have been hastily advanced to the stranger, and urged him to enter, but he refused, saying, if he could not see Mr. Sumner alone at that time, he would call again. By this time, suspicion being aroused, one of Mr. Sumner's friends went out the stranger as he went out; but before he could get down the stairs, the stranger was out of sight, having disappeared in one of the adjacent houses.

It is proper to add, that Mr. Sumner and his immediate friends were exceedingly anxious that the matter should be kept quiet, but one sent a dispatch to Boston, and it was useless longer to attempt to keep it secret.

WILLIAM S. BAILEY.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune:
Sir: For years past I have given to Wm. S. Bailey, editor of the Free South newspaper, letters attacking the friends of liberal opinions in the United States and elsewhere to aid him by pecuniary donations. For reasons satisfactory to myself, I feel it my duty to recall all such letters and recommendations.

C. M. CLAY.

WHITE HALL, April 30, 1860.

P. S.—*Boston Atlas*, *New York Evening Post*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Boston Liberator*, and other liberal journals will favor public justice by publishing the above.

(The above letter was published in the New York Tribune, May 9th, 1860.—W. S. B.)

After the Chicago Convention, I wrote the following letter to the *Tribune*, which was not published. I therefore send it to other journals, and ask that liberality be shown for a hearing claimed for America to all her citizens:—

NEWPORT, Ky., May 21st, 1860.

Sir: I see in your paper of the 9th inst., a card from C. M. Clay, recalling all his letters for years past, commendatory of myself and labors, to the friends of freedom. Why he did this, I know not. To correct any wrong impression, I might make against me, permit me to state that he requested me, last fall, to abandon my (our) Kentucky Free State Platform, stating that he (they) of Madison county had adopted, since the Philadelphia Republican Platform of 1856. So I published said Platform for the sake of unity, as expected to vote with the Republican party in 1860, acknowledging Mr. Clay as our leader, but did not abandon our Kentucky State Platform as he requested; for I still thought that the citizens of Kentucky should take some State action for the total abolition of slavery among us; which, I thought, would be as consistent as it was for other States that had done so, and that are now free. I think so still.

For us, Kentuckians, to raise our voice against the 'extension' of slavery, and yet have nothing to say against the evil of it in our own midst, would be, I think, ridiculous before the world, and inconsistent with ourselves.

I have no apology to make to Mr. Clay for my course; and if he has none to make to me for his, I bid him farewell. His letter, I think, will do me but little harm. May it do as little to him! I wish him no ill. I have always been true to principle, and trust to remain so. But, I must say, his letter is a cold and unnatural thrust, without cause. I have been his shield and helper, and now, in a crushed condition and needy, he seeks my ruin. I have lately prepared a small quantity of type, and got my small printing-press at home, by which I hope soon to let all my friends hear from me; and I trust in this hour of peril they will not forsake me. My suit is still pending against the mobsters, and I hope for redress for the injuries I received at their hands; after which, if not before, I shall issue the *Free South* again; and, though mobs, fire and persecution have been my fate, and though misguided 'non-extensionists' may forsake me, I shall continue to do my duty in the great work of human freedom—shall maintain the liberty of speech and of the press in Kentucky, and contend for the return of our citizens that were banished from Berea, and other parts of our State. Men should never be banished from their homes because they love liberty, nor will any true man ever lay down his pen, or close his lips against his fellow-sufferers, while such usurpations last.

Friends writing to me will please address Box 9, Corning, Ky., instead of Newport, as the postmaster here (J. Q. A. Foster) is a pro-slavery mobster, and assisted, in person, in the destruction of my office.

The Covington postmaster, Doctor Holt, is an honorable gentleman, and is an opposer of mobs. Respectfully yours,

WILLIAM S. BAILEY.

P. S. Editors who published Mr. Bailey's letter, and who favor equal justice, please copy. W. S. B.

Frederick Douglass has returned to the United States. He came unannounced, and had been some several weeks before the fact was known to the public. It is now announced in his paper, in contradiction or reconsideration of a notice that appeared a few weeks since, that Frederick Douglass's paper will not be discontinued, but will be issued regularly every week.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.
BOSTON, JUNE 15, 1860.

THE INSURRECTION OF 1776!

The eighty-fifth anniversary of this great American triumph will be celebrated by a grand MASS MEETING, in the handsome and commodious Grove in FRAMINGHAM, on Wednesday, July 4th. Turning with abhorrence from the mockery of commemorating the achievements of Freedom by servility to Slavery, let all who hate despotism in the garb of Democracy and Republicanism as well as of Monarchy, and would overthrow it by every weapon that may be legitimately wielded against it, assemble to consider the solemn and pregnant issues of the hour—how we may best preserve the principles of the Revolution, and carry them forward to a speedy and enduring triumph.

Special trains will run upon the different railroads, as heretofore. An able corps of eloquent speakers will be in attendance. [Particulars hereafter.]

FRANCIS JACKSON,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
HENRY O. STONE,
CHARLES A. HOVEY,
GEO. W. STACY,

Committee of Arrangements.

IMPRISONMENT OF THADDEUS HYATT.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.
At the Melodeon, Thursday evening, May 31.

Photographic report for The Liberator by J. M. W. YERKINSON.

Mr. PHILLIPS, on coming forward to speak, was greeted with cheer upon cheer of spontaneous and most enthusiastic applause. When the tumult had somewhat subsided, he said:—

I am afraid, ladies and gentlemen, you have made the speech, for I certainly have nothing to offer worthy of such a welcome. What can I say, when JOHN KNOX (Rev. Dr. CHEEVER preceded Mr. PHILLIPS) has spoken? (Applause.) Whatever he may do, God grant Scotland may melt in his hand! I could not find it in my lips to gain any principle by which he can make his diocese include the Carolinas. Let him thunder in God's name against every system of wickedness all over the land. I will only bid him God-speed!

But we come here to-night for a great constitutional principle, impersonated in one man. The Senate has stretched out its hands for some dozen individuals—given them the most winning and flattering invitation to visit Washington, at the expense of the government. (Laughter.) There was our friend who has just addressed you (FRANK B. SANBORN, Esq.)—Senator Mason beckoned to him most lovingly. It was the old ditty of the nursery—

'Come into my parlor,
Said the spider to the fly,
'Tis the prettiest little parlor
That ever you did spy—'

but, singularly enough, our friend would not go. Mr. Hyatt saw his duty differently. It takes all sorts of men to make a world. He thought he saw a great principle at stake between the nation and the individual—thought the time had come, the hour, when another stone was to be laid in the temple of individual liberty. He took time, but at last he went to Washington. He wanted to arm himself with argument; and, like the monster that Hercules attacked, he wanted first to touch Mother Earth, and be strengthened. Where did he come? Thank God for so much credit to the old city, he came and hid himself under the laws of our Commonwealth, and called on that noble descendant of three judges, who stood on this platform to-night, SAMUEL E. SEWALL, (applause), and that other favorite of the State, JOHN A. ANDREWS, (renewed applause), to fill his hands with argument for the Senate of the United States; then he went to Washington. Some men say he was a fool to go. Well, that is the meed that such men usually earn. Home thanks the Puritans for saving the liberty of England; while of the Puritans, or of their brothers, the Covenanters, it was said,

'They bought, stern rushing upon Clavers' spears,
The freedom of the south of after years.'

That is the penalty which all such men pay for saving races. They are the dead lumber, the scaffolding; when the building is finished, thrown aside, unheeded, gotten out of the way, or making the path over which triumphant posterity walks to the enjoyment of its victory. But your duty and mine is to see behind the man, the principle. It rests wholly on our shoulders. One of our predecessors on this platform said the Republicans had sneaked off from the post. What could they do better? An empty bag cannot stand on end! (Laughter and applause.) Do not ask them for bricks—they have no straw, nor hay either! (Renewed merriment.) They are engaged on the Territories—far off; they are looking to the election, and to see whether the national anthem shall run 'twelve-dum' or 'twelve-dee.' (Laughter.) They cannot defend us, they cannot help us, and you ask too much when you expect it. Lament it as much as you please. It is very hard measure, when we see our idols all clay, breaking to pieces before our eyes; but it is God's lesson, and we are to learn it. William H. Seward saw the bauble of the Presidency glittering before him, and when Thaddeus Hyatt, representing constitutional liberty at the bar of the Senate, sat there, turned his back on him, and went out of the door. (Cries of 'Shame,' 'shame!') He paid that price for the ghost of a chance of a nomination. Ought we not, after a fair view of the real interest of men and the times, to thank God that he was cheated out of it? (Applause.) It is not better for the nation's health that such should be the result? He should have read the lesson of his time better—but he looks on cards as always play the game better than he who holds the cards. His grandson will see the day when he would have thanked God a thousand times more to have heard such lips as those we have just listened to link his name with Hampden, with Cromwell, with Washington, with Hyatt, with John Brown, (enthusiastic cheering,) than drag it through the meshes of Polk, Buchanan and Pierce. (Applause and hisses.) The Republicans, therefore, cannot help us. We stand in an hour when we are to make law, as all our past law has been made. We hitherto are Saxons—with uneven wheels, gaining an inch at a time. Our Constitution is no stately temple, like a Frenchman's, harmonious, every part balanced and shaped, according to architectural rule. It is an old English mansion, full of gables and windows, entries that lead no where, and passages that no one can find his way out of. Mr. Hyatt is one of them. It is a scanty foothold won by poor men from despotism, by snatching their opportunity; it is an army of weapons, forged each for a special occasion; it is a record of struggles, every one of them consuming a century, eating up a generation; and leaving some hard-earned writ, with a barbarous name, like *habeas corpus*, as the trophy and result of ages of struggle. That is what our Constitution is; and we stand to-day just in this crisis of making a new safeguard for liberty; and hereafter the name of Thaddeus Hyatt is to blot down the stream of time linked with a new safeguard for individual rights. (Applause.)

Let me set before you two resolutions: that I want to offer to this meeting, to show what our idea of the true safeguard of individual liberty is:—

Resolved, That the practice of legislative bodies to punish a citizen at their discretion for acts which they consider contempt of their authority—seeing that neither the offence nor the punishment is fixed by known laws, but depends largely on the discretion and

passing mood of the Legislature—is one of the worst forms of despotism, rests in reality on the principle of an *ex post facto* law, is utterly unjust as making one party not only judge in its own case, but executioner of its own sentence, and is therefore properly no part of the common and parliamentary law adopted in this country, being wholly repugnant to the principles of the United States and every State Constitution, as well as utterly subversive of the rights of the citizen; and however sanctioned by custom or headless submission, should be met always with determined resistance by every lover of liberty. (Applause.)

Resolved, That when an individual disturbs the quiet of a legislative hall, or refuses to obey the order of a Legislature, the only power it has over him is to commit him to the executive to await punishment, like any other law-breaker, and such individual is entitled to have his offence and his punishment described and fixed by settled and known laws, to trial before a jury, and to all the other safeguards that free institutions throw around the citizen, and that to admit any other power in a Legislature is to violate the cardinal principle of free government, by mixing the legislative and judicial and executive powers; is, in fact, to yield up sacred individual rights to party hate, personal caprice, or official discretion, which is but another name for despotism. (Applause.)

I mean to be very short, for it is late, and the man whose words are bullets (JAMES REDFERN) is to come after me; but I wish to state my views of the hour in the way we stand. I do not agree with Dr. Cheever that we have got a Constitution with a nose of wax. I believe that when four million of people made the Constitution, they knew what they meant, that they wrote down what they meant, and that what those four million of people meant, and what twenty-five million of people acquiesce in to-day, is the law of the land. Dr. Cheever stands here to-night, and points us with terrible emphasis to the Senate's violation of the Constitution of the United States. Half an hour before, he had said that he hoped the day would come when the warning millions of the North would take that instrument into their hands, and wrest it in behalf of liberty. That same principle justifies the Senate in wresting it to-day according to their desire of right. (Applause.) That sword has a double edge. If our Dr. Cheever may stand on the shifting sands of an equivocal Constitution, and lift it up to the level of his conscience, and call it law, John C. Calhoun may take his stand also on the same unmeaning document, and sink it to the level of his conscience and ideas of law. (Applause.) I want no such double-edged limb and wet brown-paper instrument as the ideal of my Constitution of the United States. The labors of three centuries did not culminate in such a cheat. The great principle of written and limited Constitutions—the land-mark on the ocean of the world's civil progress—is no such sand line, to be wiped out by every shifting wave. No; Sir John Eliot, the great prototype of Thaddeus Hyatt—the victim in a dungeon of Charles I. to similar illegal imprisonment which Thaddeus Hyatt, his legitimate child in the nineteenth century, endures to-day—the fruit of that martyr-death in an English jail, is no such cheat, no such bitter ash on our lips. We have a Constitution, no I better try to show you by it that the Senate of the United States are tyrants; and in order to do that, I must acknowledge that the Constitution has a fixed and definite meaning. My friend said of me, with kindly compliment, that he wished I could see eye to eye with him, and swell the torrent of his eloquent denunciation, until, echoed back by the Rocky Mountains, we could sweep the North, and pour it out, as in the days of the Crusades, on annihilated Carthage. (Loud applause.) As far as mere wish goes, I wish so too. I would do anything to serve my country, but I would not tell a lie to save it. (Renewed cheering.) What would he think—(pardon me a moment, if I am jealous of any criticism on this movement)—what would he think, if I went to the door of that Union Place Church, and said to him, 'Show me your creed! Atonement—Trinity—Election—and all the time-honored symbols of Orthodox theology.' I sign it. Suppose I have imbibed the sentiments of our idolized and beloved friend, Theodore Parker. (Applause.) But I sign it nevertheless, and he turns to me and says, 'What, you believe in the Trinity?' 'Never!' 'What, you convert to Election?' 'Not a bit of it!' 'Why, then, is your name there?' 'I want to get inside your Church in order to convert it; I want a pedestal upon which to stand; I want to say, yes, my fellow says no, in order to get inside your defenses, and fight to better advantage.' My Bible says that once upon a time, in the records of far off ages, a certain oak took a Divine Spirit to the loftiest pinnacle of the Temple and said, 'Fall down and worship, and I will give you the world for an inheritance.' These ethics would have advised, 'Fall down, and when you have got the world, kick the Devil out of it the first thing you do, for he has no right there' (applause)—(that is, supposing one who vaulted into a throne with such a double-dealing and Jesuit oath, would not be the most real and the tallest Devil of the two.) But my record reads that he said, 'Get thee behind me, Satan!'—and angels came and ministered to him; (applause,) mightier in that moment, than if, by the Devil's permission, he had set on the throne of the Universe—and the same is true of reigning in the White House at Washington or Pandemonium either; and I ought to have put Washington last, to save the climax. (Laughter and applause.)

But, we have a Constitution; we got it with a great struggle. What is the history of liberty? Government began in despotism and usurpation—began in the violence of the soldier and the trickery of the priest. By and by, after the king for centuries had said, 'This is mine,' and took it without paying for it; 'That house is mine,' and took it without compensation; there arose the middle class, the House of Commons, and said to Royalty, 'Thus far, no farther. The king shall not have the right to put a man into jail because he says he has committed contempt.' They grided his authority. He stays whipped to-day. But this cunning House of Commons, the Legislature and the Courts, retain that very power; only they call it the power to commit for contempt. Thus we stand to-day. If I should owe Chief Justice Taney twenty-five dollars, he cannot touch a hair of my head, until he gets the verdict of twelve men to say it; but if he asks me a question, and I refuse to answer, that same Constitution which puts a jury between him and me, on a question of twenty-five dollars—according to the Senate of the United States—and William H. Seward going out of the door, (laughter)—says he may put me in jail for life. If I load my revolver, and shoot Chief Justice Taney to-night, I go free, unless twenty-three men indict, and twelve men say I am guilty; but if I refuse to answer any question, he chooses to ask—and I have no right of appeal to know whether the question is a proper one—he may put me in jail for life, without warrant, evidence, trial, defense, or right of appeal. And that, according to your Republican, legal, recognized, submitted-to Constitution, is the law of the land! I don't believe it, and I believe that Providence gave us Thaddeus Hyatt to conquer this new safeguard of liberty. William H. Seward says that there is an 'irrepressible conflict between Slavery and Freedom,' and that one or the other must conquer. Our interest is to see to it, that if Slavery conquers, the fewest possible weapons be left in her hands. Give the slaveholder Archimedes the right to commit for contempt as the spot on which to plant his lever, and it will be easy for him to call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill, and have the Chief Justice of Massachusetts to keep the check-list. (Applause.) She only wants so much, and she can lasso the nation to her feet. She is trying the experiment. Tyranny never comes with a popular man. It doesn't take a Governor, with a State behind him. It gives Gov. Wise a wide berth. It does not take a man with a party. The New York Herald gave column after column to show that William H. Seward knew something about John Brown. Tyranny would not begin with him—he was too high up on the ladder. Tyranny takes a hated

man, a revolutionary man, an unpopular man, and grinds him up into a precedent, and when it has smoothed its jaws with so much, finds space to swallow a Governor. That is what she is doing to-day. She is settling a precedent. She is saying to New York and to Boston, 'I will summon the most factious, the most irrepressible of your lawyers, your merchants, your statesmen, whenever I please, at the dictation of a Chairman of a Committee; I will put him in jail without bail; I will break up his business; I will let him linger there for months, long enough to make it utterly impossible that, whatever be his profession, it shall go on, and thus I will bring the dreaded North to my feet.' That is the precedent she is establishing to-day. What we need is to understand it. The vice of our age is, we have got too much brains. (Laughter.) We are all brains—we run to see in brains. Emerson says that a Yankee has as much brains in his hand as a man of any other nation has in his skull; but the difficulty is, that the Yankee has not got any hand. When Charles the First turned the scowl of his despotism on John Hampden, four thousand gentlemen of Buckinghamshire added their heres, leaped into their saddles, and went up to London to see what the king was going to do with John Hampden. (Applause.) They probably had never listened to an argument on constitutional rights—their brains were smothered in the roast beef and October ale of Great Britain; but they had mighty ready fingers, and a very curious English disposition to see a fight, and they concluded it would be best to be 'counted in,' as they say out West, and be on hand. New York stays at home—discusses Mr. Hyatt—analyzes him—holds him up and looks at him, and one paper thinks he is a lunatic, another regrets that he is a martyr, and a third pronounces him a fool—and then they are perfectly satisfied! We must take the age as we have it; but I should have loved to see that sort of temper in the Empire State, and have shown its face in Washington, and as our eloquent friend (Dr. Cheever) said, taken Hyatt back to New York, and discussed him in his presence. (Loud applause.) I think if the Empire State had been, instead of in the Yankee humor of discussion, in the English humor of action, that it would have been a better phase of the public mind. But we have not got it, and we must be content to 'hitch along,' as I said, as we are able. But we stand in an hour that makes history and law. Those men in the Senate House, with the exception of our own oldest Senator, Mr. Sumner, (applause,) have not backs strong enough to carry this burden of liberty, and we must strengthen them. Let me read a few words from a letter received from Mr. Hyatt.

'My work is ended. God has put me into this prison. I propose to remain here until he has work for me elsewhere. When that time comes, he will bring me out. The Senate itself does this, every man of them, before I tire out. (Loud applause.) They cannot worry me. I am in no hurry, so long as I am not guilty. I guess he can wait as long as the Senate can. I think old Crittenden seemed to be a little hazy as to which authority, God's or a magistrate's, was greatest; but when he finds himself on the time of that picket down below, I fancy he will begin to understand that there may be a contumacy worse than setting the authority of the United States at defiance.' (Laughter and applause.)

That is the stuff out of which we carve constitutions; these are the men who are ground up into the seed of the Church.

This is a broader question than that merely of slavery. It is your question and mine. This cause is teaching us now, what it has taught us often, that every road leads to the end of the world; that you cannot touch the rights of the humblest without trembling. Dr. Channing thanked the Abolitionist for saving him the right of free speech in the city of Boston. John Quincy Adams, on the floor of the United States House of Representatives, (the last session, I think, when he stood there), said, turning to the abolition petitioners, when their petition was at last received and discussed, 'Thank God! I have lived to see the seal broken!' He said that a right broader than that of the negro had been vindicated; and to-day, we stand here to make resistance to that which gives to the President a power which we refuse to the most guarded judiciary of the land. Erskine said that the whole end of government, the whole purpose of English liberty, the whole result of a thousand years of struggle and education, was to put twelve honest men in a box. He saw, and in the image represented, the great result of Constitutional liberty, which is, to put between the irresponsible power of the magistrate and the unprotected citizen, twelve men. All else of government is a nuisance. That is the culminating idea of Saxon liberty. Now the Senate, and our courts of justice, are claiming the right to stretch their hands over the jury-box, and drag the citizen to their feet. We are fighting to-day the great battle for the twelve men of Saxon history; we are contending for that Democratic supremacy which puts the common sense and the conscience of twelve men, prominently taken, between power and the citizen—the very Gibraltar of government. The arguments which have been given us to-night by Dr. Cheever, Mr. Sanborn, and Mr. Sewall, on the principles of the Constitution, are not too true to be repeated. Our fathers did not leave us unprotected. We fixed our gaze on the golden pavement of Wall street, and let Slavery have the principles of the government to herself. To-day, we are called to lift our eyes upward, and see the shadow of Despotism creeping over the mirror of the future. If we are heedless, the children into whose cradles we look down to-day, will have a fiercer battle to fight, a darker sky on which to look. Every father who values the peace of the generation which is to come after him, must man this Thermopylae, fill this chasm of the Forum, into which this noblest Roman has flung himself for our example.

I know that this claim may seem like fanaticism—it is not; oh, no, we are speaking only of old and time-honored principles lying at the root of our National existence. We might use the glowing words of Stratford, before he fell:—'We vindicate what new things? No! our ancient, legal and vital liberties, by re-enforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors, by setting such a seal upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter enter on them.'

So clear and ancient is our claim, that the weapons are all ready to our hands. I am a patent Democrat to-night. I am only speaking to you the words, in regard to this very doctrine, which Thomas Jefferson left on record in the third section of his Parliamentary Manual. I am only speaking to you the words which Judge Tucker, of Virginia, left on record in his Commentary on Blackstone, denying the authority of a legislature to commit for contempt. I am only, like a parrot, repeating the arguments of a man, out of whose brain Jefferson and Tucker might have been cut, and he would not have missed them—Edward Livingston—the greatest Democrat that the ranks ever saw. When he drew up his 'Code,' he struck out of existence the right of Courts and Legislatures to commit for contempt. Nay, the genealogy of our doctrine goes back to the highest and proudest lights of English jurisprudence, for Blackstone himself, years ago, pronounced this whole doctrine of commitment for contempt alien to the spirit of the Common Law. It has been fostered into our practice only because our huckstering fathers were willing to take two per cent. a month, and let the South have her way with their souls. Yes, it was only because Yankeeedom was making money—like Mammon, in Milton's Paradise Lost, raking up gold, and satisfied, if it could make the heap high and massy, no matter what became of justice and right—and to-day, yes, to-day!—the only advice that the noblest and most Christian clergyman that stands in an American pulpit can give to you in the city of Boston, with Hyatt for a text, is that, with all re-

spect be it said, with Yankee trick, you should cheat yourselves into victory! Old England put her hands into her pocket, took out twenty million of pounds, and poured them out on the West Indies, saying, 'Let me make a bridge with gold, if only the slave may walk over it to liberty!' But Yankee Sam Slick—her child, unwilling to part with a dollar, takes the Constitution, pores over it, until between the chinks of the equivocal language, or some doubtful phrase, he finds he can cheat Carolina out of her bargain, and stands before the world an abolitionist—without costing him a penny! (Laughter and cheer.) God grant that the slave may have liberty at any cost! Yes, meted out and trodden under foot, plundered and despoiled, herded down to the beasts, even if our own Massachusetts goes down to be huckster and cheat—even at that cost, let the negro of the Carolina stand up a free man in the sunlight of God's world! (Great cheering.) But would to God that he could take his place on the level of the nations without dragging down the sons of the Pilgrims to a deed that can admit neither of defence nor apology. I say, as an anti-slavery man, that I would rather admit, as I stand in the broad light, that John Adams and John Hancock committed a mistake—that, tried with a seven years' war, plundered and poor, timid of the future, lacking faith in God, they compromised with evil, and said, 'Is it not a little thing? Let us find a refuge! They sat down at their hearthstones—their commerce whitening every sea—Boston thrust away the timber of her wharves, and built them of granite—she widened the palaces of her merchant princes, filled them with ivory and marble, and grouted them with the blood of the slave—and God paid back the sin by sending empires into the hearts of her children, making her pulpits a refuge of every unclean beast, and her politics rottenness itself! (Enthusiastic cheering.)

No man ever touched pitch without being defiled, and the Yankee, with all his patents, has not yet found out the way to do it. (Laughter.) Do you ask for the grandiose of South-Side Adams? He was bred and bred on yonder hill, and his fathers went to look on his honored features as he lay in the cements of the grave on the portico of the Hancock House in Beacon street. Do you want the predecessors of the Halletts and the Cushings, that make one wish for clean water to rinse his lips, when their names have once passed them? (Laughter.) John Adams, Elbridge Gerry, and the patriots of 1789, were their fathers, for they tried to cheat the devil, and he gave them back these monstrous births for children. (Loud applause.) It could not be otherwise. God forbid that it ever should be! God forbid that, under the great laws of his Providence, we could ever plant nettles and gather grapes! No; the fathers planted integrity, and they reaped the whirlwind. The duty of their sons is not to endeavor to 'skim and film the ulcerous place,' but to open it to the sunlight of heaven; on their knees, at the feet of the victim race, the negro, to say, 'Share our wealth; partake of these garners which your toil has filled; silk and velvet, "the rich dye of Tyre and the fine web of Nile," halls of learning and mansions of luxury, are for you as well as for us; and let us feel, when you sit side by side with us, under your vine and fig-tree, which your own labor has planted, that at last America has a right to lift her unspotted and queenly brow in the sisterhood of nations, and ask the blessing of God! (Loud applause.) Thaddeus Hyatt opens our door.

What he asks of us is to help him. The use to be made of it, to cut up by the roots this remnant of despotism, the doctrine of contempt. For one, I thank him for having awakened the nation to the doctrines of Livingston and Jefferson. For one, I thank him, that I am not to hold my personal liberty at the beck of any Chief Justice or any Legislature. For one, I thank him for the text by which I can preach to an enlightened and awakened people the danger of leaving even one link of the chain of despotism. If we are to have the reign of irresponsible power, God give me a decent Bourbon!—give me an honest, however crass, Guelph!—give me a responsible king, standing in the face of the nations, and responsible to them for his acts. Infinitely safer shall I feel myself than at the beck of forty-four Democrats, skulking from responsibility in the mob of the Senate Chamber! (Laughter and cheer.) That is the true symbol of power. When, in Europe, one man stretches out his irresponsible hand and crushes his fellow-men, they call him Nicholas, the Czar; they call him Napoleon, the perjured; and when he does it on the banks of the Potomac, they call him Mr. Chairman Mason, or Mr. Chief Justice Taney. I like the old names of Napoleon and Nicholas. If the charter of bondage is to run at all, I would rather have it signed with a grand historic name, than to take a starving county lawyer of Virginia, put him at the head of a Senate Committee, and give the free speech of New England into his hand. (Loud applause.)

THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

In using degrees of comparison, we are apt to be impulsive and extravagant. Still, it does seem to me, that our late Anniversary Convention was one of the best ever held. The unabated interest, evinced by the pressing multitude in constant attendance, was an evidence of the character and power of the speeches, and the manner in which our cause is appreciated. Thank God for the good seed sown!

There was one feature, however, manifested by a few of the speakers, which, in plain English, is disgusting and intolerable. I refer to the egotistical manner in which some of the ministers commenced their remarks. As for instance—Mr. President, I am an Orthodox minister, but yet I can stand on the platform, known as a Garrisonian one! And then followed sundry reasons for such a hazardous step. For one, I am tired of this. It is arrogant and nonsensical. We are all but men, and some of us poor apologies at that.

Is it as far from our platform to the clergyman, as it is from the clergyman to the platform? And, by the law of reciprocity, ought not the minister to consider it as much a luxury to stand by our side in the battle of right, as it is for us to listen to his voice? Of course it is. Away, then, with these simple and uncalled for words of apology! What has a profession, or theological differences, to do with the restoration of the rights of oppressed and imbruted millions? We have no time for such dainty sectarian etiquette. As well ask for an introduction to the drowning man, before we leap to his rescue. Our talk is herculean, and we have no time to trifle away. God never—never, sent us into this world to settle dogmas at the expense of human rights.

A shade was cast over the mind in view of our loss in the death, as we call it, of our lamented friend, THEODORE PARKER. But, thank God, who giveth us the victory, we cannot make that dead. No, our absent and beloved brother still lives, to aid and bless the cause he loved. And, like the revered Channing, whose last effort on earth was for the bondman, and whose beautiful spirit and pregnant words are still permeating human minds—so Parker, with his large and benevolent spirit, bends over us with a blessed benediction. And, in years to come, the spirit which made him willing 'to be without reputation,' shall enshrine itself in thousands of hearts, who 'call him blessed.' The grave in Florence, covered with the Beatitudes of the 'Sermon on the Mount,' shall ever and anon receive the grateful tear of every manly and womanly heart that may chance to beat over it.

How little did those know Mr. Parker, who flippantly called him an unbeliever! In no human breast could a stronger faith in immortality rest. A year or two since, in one of the last interviews I had with him while at Milford, he related in a most impressive, and yet pleasant manner, this incident. Said he, 'Not long since I met with some of my

old Unitarian minister associates; and while they were disposed to think me rather infidel, it chanced that I turned out to be the only true and positive believer in the room. For while they said, "we hope, or trust, or believe in immortality, I could say more. "Why, brethren," I remarked, "I know I am immortal—I feel it in every fibre of my soul. With me it is more than faith—it is knowledge."'

Let us be cheerful, since the "morning light is breaking," and keep green the memory of our lost, but absent brother, by doing the work which he did so well and so faithfully.

G. W. S.

ESSEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society was held in Georgetown, June 14, commencing at 10 o'clock, the President in the chair.

The Nominating Committee reported the following list of officers, to be served the ensuing year:—
For President—CHARLES LAMOR HANCOCK, Salem.
For Vice President—William Ashby, Newburyport; Thomas Haskell, Gloucester; James N. Buffum, Lynn; Martha O. Barrett, South Danvers; Lucy Ives, Salem; D. P. Harmon, Haverhill; Henry Ellwell, Manchester; John Cutler, Danvers; Mass. Wright, Georgetown.

Recording Secretary—Lydia Tarr, Georgetown.
Corresponding Secretary—Sarah P. Richmond, Salem.

Treasurer—T. W. Roberts, Danvers.
Executive Committee—Mehitable Haskell, Gloucester; Caroline Putnam, Salem; E. F. Barnham, South Danvers; Maria S. Page, Danvers.

The Recording Secretary having declined to serve any longer, a vote of thanks was given him for the fidelity and promptness with which he had discharged the duties of that office during the last three years. Parker Pillsbury reported the following series of resolutions, which were approved and accepted:—

1. Resolved, That American slavery is the 'sum of all villainies,' a compound of all cruelty and crime.
2. Resolved, That slaveholders are, therefore, the sum

intercourse of private life, he exhibited an almost feminine gentleness and affectionateness. In the domestic circle, he inspired perpetual admiration by the affluence of his conversation, his colloquial quence and wit, the incredible extent and of his knowledge, the ready

memory, and the benignant wisdom and cordiality of his discourse. No one would recognize in the genial and playful talker, the warm-hearted and considerate and tender adviser, the unflinching iconoclast who delighted to wield the battle-axe, and rush into the midst of the affray when the question of human freedom or social justice was at stake. Mr. Parker was one of the most truly courteous men of the day; and had not his brilliant intellect and public man eclipsed the reputation of his private virtues, he would have been reckoned as one of the "Roses." In the receipt of a generous income from his profession and his literary labors, he devoted his surplus for many years past has been exclusively devoted to deeds of unostentatious charity. The sincerest mourning will be felt by all those friends of young people, whose life has helped to aid education and an establishment in life, and the poor unfortunate, whose wants never appeared to him sympathies in vain.

IT IS NOT A DYE!

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S
WORLD'S
HAIR RESTORER,

The only preparation that has a
EUROPEAN REPUTATION.
Warranted not to contain deleterious substances.

This pleasant and valuable preparation has been used for many years by hundreds of the most distinguished and wealthy persons, of the most distin-

of human freedom or social rights was at stake. Mr. Parker was one of the most truly heroic men of the day; and had not his brilliant career as a public man eclipsed the reputation of his private virtues, he would have been celebrated as the peer of Ross.* In the receipt of a generous income from his profession and his literary labors, one third of his surplus for many years past has been religiously devoted to deeds of unostentatious charity. The sincerest mourners at his death will be the troops of young people, whom he has helped to the conquest and an establishment in life, and the poor and unfortunate, whose wants never appealed in vain to his generosity.

viously tried all the nostrums of the day without success, some even injuring their hair and health. This is entirely different from all others.

'IS THERE ANY VIRTUE IN
Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorative?"

We can answer this question by saying that we have already seen persons who have derived benefit from it.

"Persons personally known to us have come voluntarily, and told us of good results to either themselves or friends, who have used it. It is now known in St. Louis."

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S HAIR RESTORATIVE has given universal satisfaction, wherever it has been used. It can be used with perfect safety, and in perfect fitness from all soiling, renders it a very desirable article for the toilet.

CA's Witness and Ch. Advocate, Boston, Mass.

'MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER is worthy of confidence."

Philadelphia Christian Chronicle.

Incomparably the best preparation we have ever used."

N. Y. Evangelist.

All are compelled to acknowledge **MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S** as the Hair Restorer."

N. Y. Independent.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER has taken its place at the head of all articles of the kind."

Michigan Christian Herald.

Diapal all doubts as to its efficacy."

Knoxville Presbyterian Times.

There never has been a prescription or remedy for improving the hair, published in the *Advocate*, which was so fully and so ably sustained by the unqualified standing, as in that of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN."

Buffalo Christian Advocate

Another objection to *Dras* is the *unpleasant*...

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Buffalo Christian Advocate
Another objection to drive is the selfishness of

and appearance they cause the hair to assume the only way to have grey hair natural and youthful color, is to use which will be effective and yet not at all—Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer will do this.

In these times, when every cosmetic is warranted the greatest discovery of the present day, it is refreshing to come across that which is what it is—Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer. As an assistant to nature, it is of great service, and a must by using it often prevents a serious and unnecessary loss of hair. Its properties are perfectly harmless to the hair, and the compound of ingredients calculated to facilitate the hair to grow in its natural condition.

Saturday Evening Gazette, Boston,

Those of our readers whose hair is turning grey, or losing its color, and who are opposed to using dyes, will find in Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer a preparation that will speedily cleanse the hair to its natural color, and so make it again tender it soft. It is superior to any heretofore proposed for restoring and beautifying the hair, and, REBASSING NONE OF THE NURSING QUALITIES OF A DYE.

Philadelphia Mercury.

There is no Hair preparation, we believe, that has acquired more popularity than Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer. Why is this? Simply because it is a preparation of real merit, and has never failed, in a single instance, to produce its promised effect. It is the only Hair Restorer in the market. Its sales are constant and most extensive, and we begin to think that it is dominated most inappropriately the 'World's Hair Restorer.'

Newark Register.

We have reason to be assured that Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer is the best of all the articles of its kind ever discovered; indeed, fully circulate and immense sales it has achieved, will demonstrate that its efficacy is generally appreciated.

Buckley Register.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER. It is the most successful remedy of the day. We have seen thousands where its use has been advised, and we can only say that it is the best.

Weekly Visitor, Franklin N. Y.

From individual cases that have come under our observation, we are satisfied that Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer 'performs all that is promised, and that instead (as is the case with all other hair restoratives) it is a safe and highly recommended) of being a useless waste of time and money, it is just what it is represented to be, and will perform all its proprietor engages it to perform. We therefore most heartily recommend it to the notice and use of those of our readers who need a reliable agent of this character.'

St. Louis Leader.

MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S HAIR RESTORER—As we were traveling in Massachusetts a short time since, we met a lady whose appearance was such that she had met a lady of the same age. So we

at least one half of it was grey, and was so faded that before then the whole would have been turned or fallen off. But the friends and the papers, and acquainted herself with the various remedies for decaying hair, and at length determined to obtain Mrs. Allen's Restorer. She did so, and applied it according to directions, and before a year had passed, she secured as much hair as luxuriant, even and beautiful head of hair, as when she was but sixteen years old. Her statement was confirmed by other members of the family, who were informed that in the same neighborhood there were other instances where the same happy and natural effect had been produced by applying Mrs. S. Allen's World's Hair Restorer.

Providence Daily Tribune.

are satisfied that the statements made in advertisement of Mrs. S. A. ALLEN'S World's Hair Restorer are correct." *(Ohio Dispatch.)*

"Success is satisfactory evidence."
New York Herald.

be unsuccessful with other articles can try this in success."
Boston Transcript.

just what it purports to be." *Cleveland.*

might swell this list, but if not convinced, I'll try it."

export these preparations to Europe, even to re-superseding all others there as well as in the United States.

and *sell well* *domestic*. Sold by all the principal grocers and retail merchants in the U. S., Cuba, &c.

PO BOX 355 BROOME STREET, N. Y.
where address all letters and inquiries.

Some dealers try to sell articles instead of this, which they make more costly. Write to Dept. of Health, terms and information. Genuine issue is marked on the wrapper. Beware of counterfeits.

S. A. Allen, written in ink.

next issue of this paper for my information
we send to you for Circulares.
FOR SALE HERE WHERE.

FOR SALE EVERY WEEK